

LUTHER AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE

BY

ALBERT H. GERBERICH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES

OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1932

LANCASTER, PA.

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY GRANDFATHER

SAMUEL HORWELL

(1837-1923)

SIXTY-SIX YEARS A PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL
AND FIFTY-THREE YEARS A MEMBER OF THE
PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE OF THE METHO-
DIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

ACCEPTUS APUD DEUM, VIVIT IN
PACE DOMINI NOSTRI CHRISTI.

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1896, simultaneously with the undersigned, the late Pastor Julius Hofmann of Zion Church, Baltimore, entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in German. Almost immediately he entered upon a study of the possible influence of Luther's translation of the New Testament upon Tyndale's English version, and soon discovered striking resemblances between the two. During a number of years a series of papers was read by him before the German Seminary, dealing not merely with the Biblical text, but also with the life of Tyndale and his collaborators: he even undertook a detailed study of the history of the plague in Germany, hoping by this means to get a clue to Tyndale's whereabouts—namely in the places free of the plague—during the period in question. The material assembled by Pastor Hofmann amply proved the dependence of Tyndale upon Luther, but he was unwilling to publish his results before the completion of the entire task that he had set himself. Meanwhile the work of his congregation required more and more of his time and energy, so that the prospect of being able to finish his investigation became more and more remote: in the spring of 1927 a paralytic stroke compelled him for a time to relinquish all his duties, and on May 19, 1928 death put an end to his labors.

During the long years of our friendship Pastor Hofmann had constantly discussed with me the various phases of his Biblical studies, and in his will he requested me to be his literary executor and to effect a proper disposition of his library. It soon appeared that his papers had gotten into confusion in the course of the year that preceded his death, or during their removal from his study: his original notes and excerpts were now only fragmentary, whilst the finished papers could not be found at all. It was therefore necessary for Mr. Gerberich, to whom I assigned the task in 1930, to do the whole work of minute comparison anew, using Pastor Hofmann's material, wherever extant, as a check on the accuracy of his own work.

Pastor Hofmann's Biblical collection, in addition to early Latin editions of the Bible, included the first edition (1522) of Luther's New Testament, all the Erasmian editions of the Greek and Latin text, many German editions of the sixteenth century, fac-similes of the important English editions, as well as editions of contemporary works bearing on the life of Tyndale and his associates. Through the munificence of an old friend of Pastor Hofmann, Mr. Henry G. Hilken, German Consul at Baltimore, this Biblical collection was presented to the Johns Hopkins University, where it is kept intact in the library of the German Seminary.

W. KURRELMEYER.

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE LIFE OF WILLIAM TYNDALE

- c. 1490—Born "near the Welsh border," probably Gloucestershire.
- 1510/15—In attendance at Oxford (A.B. 1512, A.M. 1515).
- c. 1515/18—At Cambridge.
- c. 1521—Ordained to priesthood.
- 1521/23—Preacher at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire. Tutor in family of Sir John Welch. Translated Erasmus' "Enchiridion Militis."
- 1523/24—At London. Living with Humphrey Monmouth, merchant. Preached at St. Dunstan's in the West. Resolves to translate the New Testament.
- 1524—Sails for Hamburg in May, being prohibited from printing a Bible translation in England. Probably proceeded to Wittenberg and remained there in contact with Luther till the spring of 1525.
- 1524 (Dec.)—Monmouth testified to having received a letter from Tyndale in this month, "from Hamburg."
- 1525—Settles at Cologne in April or May with his amanuensis and assistant, William Roye.
- 1525—Cologne Fragment of N. T. printed ("to Signature K"—end of Mark?). John Cochlaeus, dean of Frankfurt, learns of it, gets Senate of Cologne to interdict further printing, warns Henry VIII of England.
- 1525—Tyndale and Roye flee to Worms with the printed sheets, September or October.
- 1526—Worms edition of N. T. printed in octavo. Many copies shortly smuggled into England.
- 1527/30—Tyndale said to be living at Marburg an der Lahn, under the protection of Philip of Hesse.
- 1528—"Treatises on Matrimony."
- 1528—"Parable of the Wicked Mammon."
- 1528—"Obedience of a Christian Man."
All three of the above said to have been printed by Tyndale at Marburg. About this time he takes Zwingli's views on the Eucharist. Possibly present at the meeting between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg.
- 1529—Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch.
- c. 1530—Settles at Antwerp.

1530—"Practice of Prelates," ostensibly printed at Marburg.

1531—"Answer to More."

1531—Exposition of Prophet Jonah.

1531—Exposition of First Epistle of St. John.

1532—Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. (Based on Luther's Expository Sermons of 1530, which were printed in 1532.)

1534—Second editions of Pentateuch and New Testament.

1535—Third edition of N. T.

1535—Betrayed by the Romanist spy Henry Phillips and delivered to the authorities, May 23rd or 24th.

1536—Strangled and burnt at the stake at Vilvorde, Oct. 6.

LUTHER AND THE ENGLISH BIBLE

In the four centuries that have passed since William Tyndale suffered the martyr's death at Vilvorde, in Belgium, much has been written regarding his probable contact with Martin Luther and the latter's influence on his translation of the Bible into English. His dependence upon and acquaintanceship with the great Reformer went unquestioned during his lifetime and long after; it was not until the early part of the last century that doubt began to be thrown upon these beliefs. The publication of Demaus' excellent biography of Tyndale in 1886 did much to dispel the doubt and throw the weight of authority once more on the side of the original viewpoint, and Gruber's thorough examination (1928) of the Cologne Fragment of the martyr's first New Testament left practically no room to doubt the indebtedness of Tyndale to Luther.

Did Tyndale ever come into actual personal relationship with Luther? The evidence seems to be strongly in the affirmative, and even though positive proof may be lacking it must nevertheless be emphasized that the case for the negative has failed to advance any convincing evidence in its support.

Let us briefly sum up the witnesses on both sides of the question.

1. *Johannes Cochlaeus* (1479-1552), after the death of Eck, the leading champion of the Roman Catholics in Germany, who put a stop to Tyndale's printing at Cologne. He states definitely that Tyndale and Roye "had been some time at Wittenberg."¹

2. *Sir Thomas More* (c. 1480-1535) in his "Dialogue" says: "Tyndale as soon as he got him hence got him to Luther straight";² and again, "at the time of this translation Hychens (Tyndale) was with Luther at Wittenberg and set certain glosses in the margin, framed for the setting forth of that ungracious sect";³ and "the confederacy between him and Luther was well-known";⁴

¹ Demaus, p. 114.

² Dialogue, p. 283.

³ Gruber, p. 29.

⁴ Dialogue, p. 221.

and finally in his confutation he repeats the accusation, saying "Tyndale hath been with Luther—therefore I must needs mistrust him."⁵

3. *John Foxe* (1517–1587) in his "Book of Martyrs": "At his first departing out of the realme he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in those quarters."⁶ It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Foxe was, like Tyndale, a fugitive in Germany and Switzerland from religious persecution in his own country (between the years of 1553 and 1559); that he visited only a few years later the same cities in which Tyndale had lived; and that his famous book was first published at Basel in 1554.

4. *Robert Ridley*, chaplain to the Bishop of London, in his letter to Henry Gold, dated Feb. 27, 1527, writes: "M. William Tyndale and frear William roy, manifest lutheranes heretikes & apostates, as doth opynly apeir not only by their daily & continuall company & familiarte with Luther & his disciples, but mych mor by their comentares and annotations in Mathew and Marcum."⁷

5. *Edward Lee* (1482–1544), King Henry VIII's almoner, wrote from Bordeaux, Dec. 2, 1525: "I am certainly informed that Tyndale at the solicitation & insistence of Luther, *with whom he is*, hath translated the New Testament into English, & within few days intendeth to arrive with the same imprinted in England."⁸

6. *Henry VIII* (1491–1547) himself was fully convinced of the association of Luther and Tyndale, as appears from the following words in "A Copy of the letters, wherein the most redouted and mighty prince our soueragne lorde kyng Henry the eight . . . made answer unto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther" (London, Rycharde Pynson, 1527): "Luther . . . also fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons, borne in this our realme, for the translatyng of the Newe testament in to Englysshe, as well with

⁵ Eadie, vol. I, p. 125; Works of Sir Thomas More; Confutation, p. 419.

⁶ Book of Martyrs, vol. II, p. 363.

⁷ Pollard, p. 122.

⁸ Mombert, p. 83.

many corruptions of that holy text, as certayne prefaces, and other pestylent gloses in the margentes.”⁹

7. The articles of accusation against Humphrey Monmouth in 1528 include the following accusation (never denied by Monmouth, although he was then urgently desirous of freeing himself from the toils of his inquisitors): “Thou wert privy and of council that the said Sir William Hutchin, otherwise called Tyndale, and friar Roye, or either of them, went into Almayne to Luther, there to study and learn his sect.”¹⁰

8. *George Joye*, Tyndale’s associate, later estranged from him, more than once charges that Tyndale made free use of Luther’s previous work.¹¹

9. *Paul Freherus* (1565–1614), in his “*Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*,” connects Tyndale with Luther and Wittenberg. He is important as an independent German source, though late.¹²

10. *Brovius* states positively that some of Tyndale’s printing was done at Wittenberg.¹³

11. “*Hans Luft*.” With this name hangs a very important piece of evidence, as yet still unexplained to perfect satisfaction. The colophon to Tyndale’s Genesis has: “Emprinted at Marlborrow in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans luft, the yere of our Lorde MCCCCXXX the XVII Dayes of January.” His name also appears as that of the printer of Tyndale’s “Obedience of a Christian Man” and his “Parable of the Wicked Mammon.”¹⁴ Now Hans Luft was a printer at Wittenberg whom Luther employed occasionally as early as 1523, and steadily from 1530 onward, after the brothers Melchior and Michael Lotter had moved elsewhere.

The arguments advanced against Tyndale’s association with Luther have all been put forth by recent authorities.

1. *Christopher Anderson*, in his “Annals of the English Bible” (1845), goes so far as to say that no proof can be advanced that

⁹ Pollard, p. 118.

¹⁰ Demaus, pp. 98, 99.

¹¹ Demaus, p. 323.

¹² Ed. of 1688, p. 109.

¹³ Ofor, p. 16 (quoted from Bp. Kennet’s Mss. in the British Museum).

¹⁴ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Vol. XIX, p. 621.

Tyndale knew German. Anderson was very energetic in his endeavors to explode the "Luther myth," and Kitto and subsequent writers taking the same position base their stand on the views originally expressed by him.¹⁵

2. *John Kitto*, in his "Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature" (1852), follows Anderson: "There is no evidence to show that Tyndale was acquainted with German or indeed that he ever saw Luther."¹⁶

3. *Brooke Foss Westcott*, in his "General View of the History of the English Bible" (1868), holds for Tyndale's originality and independence of Luther.¹⁷ He cites Tyndale's translation of Ephesians IV to prove that he drew his version directly from the Greek and not the German.

4. *Dr. A. von Dommer*, in his "Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen" (1892), attacked the "Hans Luft" link between Tyndale and Luther. To this problem we shall return below.

5. *James L. Cheney* (1883), from study of the evidence presented above and from internal evidence in making a comparison of the texts of the Luther and Tyndale versions, reached the conclusion that Tyndale never saw Wittenberg or Luther. As I, in this connection, have gone over Cheney's findings carefully in the criticism of the text, this will presently be discussed further.

If Tyndale met with Luther and lived in personal contact with him it is evident from the chronological table given above that this contact must have been in the period 1524-1525 or the period 1526-1529. The evidence of his contemporaries points rather to the first period, as we have seen. Nothing positive is known regarding his place of residence during the latter period, but his enemies in England believed him to be living in Hesse at Marburg, doubtless because of the imprints of his books, which gave that city as their place of publication.

Anderson advances just four arguments against the assumption of Tyndale's association with Luther.

1. "Tyndale denies having been with Luther in his 'Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue.'"

¹⁵ Anderson, pp. 45-48.

¹⁶ Kitto, Vol. I, p. 787.

¹⁷ Westcott, p. 173.

This has been long ago shown to be inconsistent with the facts. Tyndale only denies *confederacy* with Luther; he dismisses More's charges in just one brief sentence; does not enlarge upon them; never thereafter returns to them. That sentence reads: "And when he saith Tyndale was confederate with Luther, that is not truth."¹⁸

2. "Humphrey Monmouth states that within a year after Tyndale's sailing to Hamburg he sent to him from that place for ten pounds sterling, and that Monmouth sent it to him thither 'by one Hans Collenbeke, a merchant of the Stilyard.'"¹⁹

But Anderson also remarks in a note, "Monmouth was now *in very great fear of himself*, and this must be borne in mind when reading his confession."

Therefore for his own safety Monmouth would seek to deny, even by white lies, his knowledge of Tyndale's having been with Luther at Wittenberg. And Hans Collenbeke certainly had means of forwarding the money to Tyndale at Wittenberg, as the English merchants had commercial connections all through Germany. Hamburg was the nearest seaport to Wittenberg, and practically all trade between the latter city and England passed through it. It must never be forgotten that Tyndale's Bible translation was a trade venture, entirely subsidized by the English merchants, Monmouth included, in defiance of the existing laws.²⁰

Moreover, Anderson himself points out that in Monmouth's confession we are not to take seriously his statement that he gave Tyndale this money "to pray for his father's and mother's souls, and all christian souls," for "by this time Tyndale had no faith in such prayers, and it is even questionable whether Monmouth himself had." The upshot of all this is that Monmouth's testimony must be either thrown out of court or else added to the affirmative side.

3. "Luther was at that time too busy with Carlstadt in the controversy regarding the Lord's Supper to have much time for Tyndale."

¹⁸ Tyndale's "Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue," Cambridge, 1850, p. 147.

¹⁹ Cf. Mombert, pp. 81-82.

²⁰ Cf. Cochlaeus' testimony, and Buschius' letter to Spalatin.

This is contrary to all we know about Luther's geniality, hospitality and zeal for the cause of the Reformation. His letters amply disprove this argument.

4. "Tyndale could have conversed with Luther only through the medium of Latin."

If true, this would not have been the first time in history that Latin served as a satisfactory conversational medium. Luther preached in Latin; he wrote in Latin—even his most familiar letters to his German literary friends. Are we to assume that he laid it aside in his daily converse with the numerous admirers who journeyed from all lands to Wittenberg to meet him? As for Tyndale's knowledge of German, the reader may draw his own conclusions after coming to the end of this investigation; he spoke Latin as well as his mother-tongue, as Cochlaeus and Buschius²¹ both testify.

Anderson rightfully points out that when Tyndale, in his preface to the "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," speaks of his first meeting with Roye, "we have to regret a very singular hiatus, *as, perhaps, he prudently wished to conceal the place.*" Then he adds, a little later, "we may safely presume that the words to be supplied are, 'in Hamburgh.'"

What was there about Hamburg to conceal? But to state that he abode at that time at Wittenberg, the hotbed of the Lutheran Reformation, would have endangered his friends and supporters in England and verified all the accusations against him.

A word now about the "Hans Luft" controversy. J. I. Mombert ascertained in 1885 from the Librarian of the University of Marburg that Hans Luft never printed in that city and that the University album does not contain Tyndale's name. Mombert thereupon concluded²² that the name given for the

²¹ See Spalatin's Diary under date of August 11, 1526. He writes:

"Item Wormatiae VI mille exemplaria Novi Testamenti Anglice excusa. Id operis verum esse ab Anglo, illic cum duobus aliis Britannis divertente, ita VII linguarum perito, Hebraicae, Graecae, Latinae, Italicae, Hispanicae, Britannicae, Gallicae, ut, quamcunque loquatur, in ea natum putes. Anglos enim, quamvis reluctante & invito Rege, sic suspirare ad Evangelion, ut affirmet, sese empturos Novum Testamentum, etiamsi centenis millibus aeris sit redemendum. Adhaec Wormatiae etiam Novum Testamentum Gallice excisum esse." (Quoted by Mombert, p. 106.)

²² Mombert, pp. 109-115.

place of printing was a blind and that Luft actually printed Tyndale's volumes at his press in Wittenberg.

Von Dommer refused to believe this, owing to their lack of resemblance to other books printed there by Luft, but his suggestion that the name cloaks the real printer and place of printing in England is absurd. The books were certainly imported into England from abroad. Von Dommer examined only one of the three Tyndale books bearing Luft's name on the title-page or in the colophon.

There are in all six known books bearing the imprint "Printed at Marlborough (or Marborch) in the land of Hesse by Hans Luft." Two of these were printed in 1528, three in 1529, and the latest of them, Tyndale's Genesis, did not come off the press till January, 1530. The three books printed in 1529 are anonymous, the others are by Tyndale.

One of the anonymous books is a translation from Luther into Holland Dutch. The existence of this book led some investigators to the conviction that the true place of printing was Antwerp, where Tyndale lived after 1530. Preserved Smith found a cut of the Three Graces, used on the title page in three of these volumes, to be similar to one used by Joannes Soter, a contemporary printer of Cologne, and concluded that Soter was the real printer of the mysterious six volumes.²³ This conclusion, however, cannot be regarded as established. German printers frequently loaned cuts to each other. It does seem, nevertheless, to point to a place of printing in Germany, which Von Dommer vigorously denied.

We know very little of Hans Luft's life. He was born in 1496 and first appears as the printer of the 1523 octavo edition of Luther's Old Testament. At this time he was apparently in needy circumstances and just beginning to get established in his profession, as is evident from a statement of Luther in a letter to Spalatin.²⁴ He seems to have been in poverty up till 1529,²⁵ but after that year his affairs mended, and he secured a monopoly of Luther's work.

²³ See Smith's article in the "Nation," May 16, 1912.

²⁴ Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, Vol. XIX, p. 618.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

Dr. Jakob F. Franck held the opinion that from 1528 to 1530 Luft had a branch office in Marburg. For this there is of course no evidence other than the six books referred to above; but he has shown that other German printers also maintained branch offices during this period.²⁶ Marburg may after all conceal the real name of the place of printing, but it is certain that the excellent remuneration of the English merchants and the sure approval of Luther would have appealed strongly to Hans Luft in his penurious condition at that time.

Let us now take up the arguments advanced by those who deny Tyndale's proficiency in German and insist that in his English translation he relies chiefly on the original languages and is entirely, or at least nearly, independent of Luther.

Dr. L. Franklin Gruber, in his excellent little book, "The First English New Testament and Luther," proved beyond all possible doubt that the claim of Tyndale's enemies that his translation was "Luther's Bible in English" was amply justified. Dr. Gruber may be said to have established the following facts:

1. Tyndale's "Prologe" is largely translated from Luther's "Vorrhede."
2. Tyndale's table of books in the New Testament is practically a transcript of Luther's, and his arrangement of them is in the sequence followed by Luther.
3. Tyndale's marginal glosses are in great part appropriated from Luther.
4. Tyndale's parallel references have been taken directly from Luther, and in most cases even Luther's errors have been reprinted.
5. Tyndale, in his arrangement of paragraphs, his spacing, his headings, regularly copies Luther.
6. Tyndale in his translation itself seems to lean heavily upon Luther.

Dr. Gruber's comparison of the actual text of Tyndale's New Testament deals only with the most striking similarities of Luther and Tyndale observed by him in comparing the Cologne Fragment of the gospel of Matthew with Luther's September and December editions of the New Testament

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 612-622.

published in the year 1522. Fragmentary as this work was, it showed convincing signs of Tyndale's consultation of Luther's German version. Mombert had also examined the subject slightly in comparing three verses of Romans and fourteen of Luke XV, finding substantial demonstration of Luther's influence.

Some forty years before Gruber's work appeared, J. L. Cheney of Philadelphia had made a comparison of the text of Tyndale with the Vulgate, Erasmus, Luther and Wycliffe; and although he found striking instances of agreement between Tyndale and Luther against all other versions, he came nevertheless to the conclusion that Tyndale's reliance upon Erasmus' Latin and Greek versions was paramount and his debt to Luther only secondary. Cheney examined only six chapters of Matthew, six of Romans, six of Galatians, six of Revelation, Titus, Philemon and the first epistle of John, and he sums up his findings thus:

Tyndale agrees with Erasmus alone in 327 passages.

Tyndale agrees with Luther alone in 173 passages.

Tyndale agrees with Wycliffe alone in 16 passages.

In reviewing Cheney's work I found myself in continual disagreement with his treatment of the evidence and his conclusions. More than fifty percent of the displayed passages which he refers to Erasmus alone for their origin are most doubtful, while those coming directly from Luther are much more clear-cut. A few examples of "Erasmus passages," according to Cheney, are these:

Matt. 2: 16.

Tyndale: sent forth and slue

Luther: schickt aus und lies todten

Erasmus: ἀποστείλας ἀνείλεν

missis satellitibus, interfecit

Vulgate: mittens occidit

(The only difference between Tyndale and Luther is the latter's use of a causative verb. On the other hand, Tyndale follows Luther in using a tense form instead of a participle, which both Erasmus and the Vulgate have.)

Matt. 3: 4.

Tyndale: hys garment

Luther: eyn kleyd

Erasmus: τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ
indumentum suum

Vulgate: vestimentum

(Luther differs only in writing the indefinite article instead of the possessive.)

Matt. 3: 8.

Tyndale: frutes

Luther: frucht

Erasmus: καρποὺς
fructus

Vulgate: fructum

(Merely the use of the literal plural in Tyndale where Luther has the collective singular.)

Matt. 3: 9.

Tyndale: se that ye ons thyncke not to saye in yourselves

Luther: denckt nur nicht, das yhr bey euch wolt sagen

Erasmus: ne sitis hac mente, ut dicatis intra vosipsos
μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς

Vulgate: ne velitis dicere intra vos

(The only close connection between Erasmus and Tyndale here seems to be the unimportant preposition "in." Luther is as close, if not closer.)

Matt. 4: 6.

Tyndale: with there hands

Luther: auff den henden

Erasmus: ἐπὶ χειρῶν
manibus

Vulgate: in manibus

(Luther uses the article for the possessive to indicate a part of the body.)

Matt. 4: 13.

Tyndale: Nazareth

Luther: die stad Nazaret

Erasmus: τὴν Ναζαρέθ
Nazareth

Vulgate: civitate Nazareth

(Tyndale has omitted a clearly understood appositive, which Luther retains.)

Matt. 4: 24.

Tyndale: gripinges

Luther: qual

Erasmus: βασάνοις
torminibus

Vulgate: tormentis

(It is doubtful whether Tyndale better renders Erasmus here than Luther.)

Matt. 5: 15.

Tyndale: and it lighteth

Luther: so leuchtet es

Erasmus: καὶ λάμπει
et lucet

Vulgate: ut luceat

(Chance variance of conjunctions with no change in the meaning.)

Matt. 5: 17.

Tyndale: ye shall not thynke

Luther: Yhr sollt nicht wehnen

Erasmus: Μὴ νομίσητε
ne existimetis

Vulgate: nolite putare

(Tyndale is much closer to Luther than the others here. A literal translation from Erasmus would have been "Thynke not.")

Matt. 5: 37.

Tyndale: shalbe

Luther: sey

Erasmus: ἔστω
erit

Vulgate: sit

(Use of the future where the German uses the subjunctive in a similar sense.)

None of the above are convincing, and they are only a small sample of the whole. These have been selected from the first few chapters studied by Cheney. In every case Luther might as easily have been the inspiration as the Erasmus text.

In the face of such doubtful evidence as this it seemed questionable indeed whether Tyndale's debt to Erasmus was much greater than that which he owed to Luther. The relative importance of his sources upon his work as a whole is a most difficult matter to ascertain. Yet one thing is certain from Cheney's results, namely that Tyndale spoke the whole truth in stating that he had no previous English version to guide him, for he is almost unaffected by Wycliffe.

In my investigation of this subject I have gone carefully through the entire first edition of Tyndale's New Testament (Worms, 1526) with a view to ascertaining with exactness the frequency with which Tyndale leaves all other authorities and takes sides with Luther in rendering words or passages from the Latin and Greek originals. The results surprisingly confirm the conclusions of Dr. Gruber and seem to establish beyond controversy the continuous dependence of Tyndale upon Luther through the whole course of his translation.

This research involved a comparison of every line and almost every word and mark of punctuation in Tyndale's 1526 edition with Luther's September New Testament (1522), Erasmus (edition of March, 1519) and the Vulgate, consulting always Nestle's collation of the Greek and Latin originals. Only such passages were selected for presentation here as clearly showed Tyndale and Luther occupying an isolated position outside of the original and older versions. In this task I have been much helped

by a previous study of the texts of the four gospels by the late Pastor Julius Hofmann, of Baltimore, whose unpublished notes I have gone over carefully and compared with my own and from them have appropriated any evidence that I had overlooked. In the remainder of the New Testament, except for the brief portions touched by Cheney and some of Pastor Hofmann's notes on the first four chapters of Revelation, I have to offer only my own observations. Pastor Hofmann had also made a textual comparison of the epistle to the Romans, but this seems to be missing.

I have divided my material demonstrating the dependence of Tyndale upon Luther in his translation into nine categories, which are now presented in order.

(a) *Grammatical Forms*

Instances in which Tyndale disagrees with the original rendering of the passage in the Latin and Greek, but does agree with Luther are literally innumerable. Examples of such grammatical identity are most frequent among the verb forms. The following may be cited:

I. Substitution of past tense for present (43 instances).

Mark 4: 38.

Tyndale: sayde

Luther: sie sprachen

Erasmus: λέγουσιν
dicunt

Vulgate: dicunt

Rev. 9: 19.

Tyndale: was . . . dyd hurtt

Luther: war . . . thetten . . . schaden

Erasmus: ἐίστην . . . ἀδικοῦσιν
est . . . nocent

Vulgate: est . . . nocent

(See also Matt. 2: 18; John 9: 13; John 11: 34; Rev. 15: 3.)

2. Substitution of present tense for participle (57 instances).

Eph. 3: 19.

Tyndale: which passeth knowledge

Luther: die doch alle erkenntnis ubertrifft

Erasmus: τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως
praeeminentem cognitioni

Vulgate: supereminentem scientiae

2 Tim. 2: 19.

Tyndale: and hath

Luther: und hat

Erasmus: ἔχων
habens

Vulgate: habens

(See also Matt. 22: 24; 2 Cor. 2: 17; Acts 27: 12; 2 Cor. 6: 13.)

3. Substitution of past tense for participle (66 instances).

Acts 7: 19.

Tyndale: evil entreated

Luther: handelt . . . ubel

Erasmus: κατασοφισάμενος
circumveniens

Vulgate: circumveniens

Rom. 7: 8.

Tyndale: took

Luther: nam

Erasmus: λαβοῦσα
accepta

Vulgate: accepta

(See also Matt. 8: 2; Acts 10: 23; Eph. 4: 8; 1 Tim. 1: 12.)

3. Substitution of imperative for participle (35 instances).

Eph. 5: 10.

Tyndale: Accept

Luther: prufet

Erasmus: δοκιμάζοντες
probantes

Vulgate: probantes

Col. 2: 7.

Tyndale: be plenteous

Luther: seyt . . . ubirflussig

Erasmus: περισσεύοντες
exuberantes

Vulgate: abundantes

(See also Matt. 22: 13; Eph. 4: 3; Eph. 4: 10; 2 Pet. 1: 5.)

4. Clause for substantive (76 instances).

Rom. 6: 19.

Tyndale: that ye maye be sanctified

Luther: das sie heilig werden

Erasmus: εἰς ἁγιασμόν
ad sanctificationem

Vulgate: in sanctificationem

I Thess. 1: 4.

Tyndale: howe that ye are electe

Luther: wie yhr ausserwelet seyd

Erasmus: τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν
electionem vestram

Vulgate: electionem vestram

(See also Acts 16: 25; Rom. 15: 18; 2 Cor. 13: 10; Jas. 1: 1.)

5. Plural for singular (27 instances).

Phil. 2: 9.

Tyndale: all names

Luther: alle namen

Erasmus: πᾶν ὄνομα
omne nomen

Vulgate: omne nomen

(Generally a collective singular for a plural with "all"; cf. also Phil. 4: 21; Col. 1: 28; 2 Thess. 3: 17; Rev. 1: 7.)

6. Singular for plural (18 instances).

Matt. 14: 28.

Tyndale: water

Luther: dem wasser (sing.)

Erasmus: τὰ ὕδατα
aquas

Vulgate: aquas

(See also 2 Cor. 7: 5; 2 Tim. 4: 13.)

7. Substitution of "can" (be able) for a tense form (15 instances).

Heb. 12: 20.

Tyndale: they were not able to abyde

Luther: sie mochtens nicht ertragen

Erasmus: οὐκ ἔφερον γὰρ τὸ διαστελλόμενον
non enim ferebant

Vulgate: non enim portabant

Rom. 9: 19.

Tyndale: who can resist his will?

Luther: wer kan seynem willen widderstehen?

Erasmus: τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν
nam voluntati illius quis restitit?

Vulgate: voluntati enim eius quis restitit?

1 Cor. 13: 2.

Tyndale: and though I coulde prophesy

Luther: und wen ich weyssagen kundt

Erasmus: καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητεῖαν
Et si habuero prophetiam

Vulgate: Et si habuero prophetiam

(See also Mark 14: 8; Luke 12: 56.)

8. Negative for affirmative (11 instances).

1 John 2: 21.

Tyndale: that no lye commeth of trueth

Luther: das keyn Lugen aus der warheyt Kompt

Erasmus: ὅτι πᾶν ψεῦδος ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἔστιν
et quoniam omne mendacium ex veritate non est

Vulgate: et quoniam omne mendacium non ex veritate est

(See also Acts 7: 5; 2 Peter 1: 21.)

9. Punctuation (26 instances).

Usually clauses or phrases set off by parentheses in Tyndale and Luther and occasional insertion of commas or periods where none are found in Erasmus and the Vulgate.

I Peter 1: 6.

Tyndale: though nowe for a season (iff nede requyre) ye
are in hevines

Luther: die yhr ytzt eyn kleyne zeyt (wo es seyn sol)
traurig seyt

Erasmus: ὀλίγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον ἐστὶ λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πει-
ρασμοῖς

nunc ad breue tempus afflicti in variis experi-
mentis, si opus sit

Vulgate: modicum nunc si oportet contristari

I John 2: 16.

Tyndale: (as the lust of the flesshe/ the lust of the eyes/
and the pryde of gooddes)

Luther: (nemlich die lust des fleyschs/ unnd lust der
augen und hochmut der guter)

Erasmus: ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ
ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου

veluti concupiscentia carnis, & concupiscentia
oculorum, fastus, vitae

Vulgate: concupiscentia carnis est, et concupiscentia ocu-
lorum, et superbia vitae

I Cor. 7: 17.

Tyndale: but even as god hath distributed to every man.
As the lorde hath called every person so let
him walke.

Luther: wie eynem yglichen Gott hatt aussteylet. Eyn
yglicher/ wie yhn der herr beruffen hat/ so
wandel er

Erasmus: Εἰ μὴ ἐκάστω ὥς ἐμέρισεν ὁ θεός, ἕκαστον ὥς κέκληκεν
ὁ κύριος, οὕτως περιπατεῖτω

Utcunque fuerit, unusquisque ut ipsi partitus est
deus, unusquisque ut illum vocavit dominus, ita
ambulet

Vulgate: nisi unicuique sicut divisit Dominus, unumquem-
que sicut vocavit Deus, ita ambulet

(See also 1 Cor. 4: 13; 1 Tim. 2: 7; 1 Peter 5: 12.)

Other scattering instances of unusual grammatical agreement between Luther and Tyndale in variance with the originals are:

Present for Past (Hebrews 7: 26).

Tyndale: becommeth us to have

Luther: Zympt sich uns zu haben

Erasmus: ἐπρεπεν
decebat

Vulgate: decebat

(See also Philemon 7; Hebrews 8: 1.)

Perfect for Present (1 Cor. 15: 11).

Tyndale: so have we preached

Luther: haben wyr prediget

Erasmus: κηρύσσομεν
praedicamus

Vulgate: praedicamus

(See also 2 Cor. 6: 11.)

Future for Present (Gal. 3: 15).

Tyndale: I will speake

Luther: ich will reden

Erasmus: λέγω
dico

Vulgate: dico

(See also 2 Cor. 3: 11.)

Future Tense for Participle (Heb. 8: 10).

Tyndale: I will put

Luther: ich will geben

Erasmus: διδοὺς
dando

Vulgate: dando

(See also Heb. 10: 16.)

Active for Passive (Matt. 5: 24).

Tyndale: reconcile

Luther: versune

Erasmus: διαλλάγηθι
reconcilieris

Vulgate: reconciliari
(See also Matt. 6: 18.)

(b) *Word Order*

The instances in which Tyndale rejects the Latin or Greek order of words and follows a different order used by Luther are next most numerous. The most striking verses I have observed are: Matt. 6: 10; Mark 9: 22; Luke 9: 39; Luke 9: 51; Acts 26: 6; Rom. 2: 13; Rom. 4: 19; 1 Peter 3: 14; Rom. 6: 17; Rom. 8: 24; Rom. 16: 22; 1 Cor. 4: 18; Eph. 1: 1; Rev. 16: 18.

The actual texts of four of these passages are reproduced herewith to show the extent to which the word order of Luther has reproduced itself in Tyndale.

Matt. 6: 10.

Tyndale: as well in erth, as hyt ys in heven

Luther: auff erden wie ynn dem hymele

Erasmus: ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
quemadmodum in caelo, sic etiam in terra

Vulgate: sicut in caelo, et in terra

Acts 26: 6.

Tyndale: and nowe I stond and am iudged for the hope off
God unto oure fathers

Luther: und nu stehe ich un werd gerichtet uber der hoff-
nung an die verheyssunge szo geschen ist von
Gott zu unsern veter

Erasmus: καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίας
γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστηκα κρινόμενος
et nunc fretus spe repromissionis, quae ad patres
nostros facta est a Deo, sto iudicio subiectus

Vulgate: et nunc in spe, quae ad patres nostros repromis-
sionis facta est a Deo, sto iudicio subiectus

Eph. 1: 1.

Tyndale: Paul an apostle off Jesu Christ/ by the will off
God

- To the saynctes at Ephesus/ and to them whiche
believe on Jhesu Christ
Grace be unto you and peace from God oure
father/ and from the lorde Jhesu Christ
- Luther: Paulus ein Apostel Jhesu Christi durch den willen
Gottis
Den heyiligen zu Epheso und gleubigen an
Christo Jhesu
Gnad sey mit euch und frid von Gott unserm
vater/ und dem herrn Jhesu Christo
- Erasmus: ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ
τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ · χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν
καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ
Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per voluntatem dei,
sanctis qui agunt Ephesi, & fidelibus in Christo
Iesu. Gratia uobis & pax a deo patre nostro &
domino Iesu Christo
- Vulgate: Paulus Apostolus Iesu Christi per voluntatem Dei,
omnibus sanctis qui sunt Ephesi, et fidelibus
in Christo Iesu. Gratia vobis, et pax a Deo
Patre nostro, et Domino Iesu Christo
- 2 Cor. 6: 13.
- Tyndale: I speake unto you as unto chyl dren, whych have
lyke rewards wyth us
- Luther: Ich rede mit euch als mit Kindern, die gleychen
lohn mit uns haben
- Erasmus: τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν, ὡς τέκνοις λέγω
eandem autem remunerationem, ut filiis polliceor
- Vulgate: eandem autem habentes remunerationem, tam-
quam filiis dico

(c) *German Idioms* *

German idioms borrowed or reproduced by Tyndale are also quite numerous. Some of the more interesting are:

* Some Biblical students have asserted that Tyndale's fondness for the inverted order with a personal pronoun subject comes from Luther. Mombert has proved this to be idiomatic English found in all the writing of the period. See Mombert, p. 89.

Matt. 3: 9.

Tyndale: we have Abraham to oure father

Luther: wyr haben Abraham zum vater

Erasmus: πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ

Patrem habemus Abraham

Vulgate: Patrem habemus Abraham

Luke 22: 71.

Tyndale: What nede we eny further witnes?

Luther: Was durffen wyr weytter zeugnis

Erasmus: τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρτυρίας

Quid adhuc desyderamus testimonium

Vulgate: Quid adhuc desideramus testimonium

Rom. 6: 17.

Tyndale: God be thanked

Luther: Got sey aber gedanckt

Erasmus: χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ

Gratia autem Deo

Vulgate: Gratias autem Deo

Rom. 8: 5.

Tyndale: are carnally mynded

Luther: sind fleyschlich gesynnet

Erasmus: οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες

quae carnis sunt curant

Vulgate: quae carnis sunt, sapiunt

1 Cor. 1: 22.

Tyndale: seke after

Luther: fragen nach

Erasmus: ζητοῦσιν

postulant

Vulgate: quaerunt

2 Cor. 8: 1.

Tyndale: I do you to witt

Luther: ich thu euch kund

Erasmus: Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν

certiores autem vos facio

Vulgate: Notam autem facimus vobis

Rev. 21: 21.

Tyndale: as thorowe shynynge glasses

Luther: Als eyn durchscheynend glas

Erasmus: ὡς ὕαλος διαυγής
tamquam vitrum perlucidum

Vulgate: tamquam vitrum perlucidum

(d) *Mistranslations*

Cases in which Tyndale follows a mistranslation of Luther from the original texts, or mistakes one word of Luther's for another, are necessarily rare, but all the more eloquent:

1 Cor. 12: 7.

Tyndale: to proffit the congregacioun

Luther: zum gemeynen nutz

Erasmus: πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον
ad id quod expedit

Vulgate: ad utilitatem

(Tyndale has mistaken the adjective meaning "common, general" for the noun meaning "congregation.")

Heb. 1: 6.

Tyndale: and all the angels of God shall worshippe hym

Luther: und es sollen yhn alle Gottis engel anbeten

Erasmus: καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ
et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei

Vulgate: et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei

(The verb is subjunctive with imperative force—adorent, προσκυνησάτωσαν—but Tyndale, confused by the manner in which Luther renders it, hurriedly considers it as a future indicative.)

1 Peter 2: 9.

Tyndale: a peculiar peple

Luther: das Volck des eygenthums

Erasmus: λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν
populus qui in lucrum accessit

Vulgate: populus acquisitionis

(Here Tyndale has taken the wrong meaning from "eygenthum.")

1 Peter 5: 13.

Tyndale: The congregacion that is gaddered to gedder at
Babilon

Luther: die versamlet ist zu Babylonia

Erasmus: Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ
ea, quae est in Babylone, vestrae consors elec-
tionis ecclesiae

Vulgate: ecclesia, quae est in Babylone coëlecta

(This is a mistake of a different nature. Luther confused "collecta" with "coëlecta"—συνεκλεκτὴ and Tyndale has followed him.)

2 Peter 1: 3.

Tyndale: and to serve god with all

Luther: unnd gotlichem wandel dienet

Erasmus: καὶ εὐσέβειαν
ac pietatem

Vulgate: et pietatem

(Tyndale has mistranslated the idea in "dienet," which in itself is a free translation of Luther's own.)

Rev. 17: 6.

Tyndale: wife

Luther: weyb

Erasmus: τὴν γυναῖκα
mulierem

Vulgate: mulierem

(Tyndale is in the habit of translating "weyb" correctly as "woman"; contrast for example in the same chapter, Rev. 17: 3, 4, 7; Matt. 22: 27; Gal. 4: 24, etc.)

(e) *Additions to the Text*

Additions common to Luther and Tyndale are met with in abundance. My count gives 112 of them in all.

A word frequently inserted by Luther is "nemlich" ("that is to say"). Tyndale usually incorporates it in his text, his translation of it varying only slightly.

Examples are:

2 Cor. 13: 9 (also Rom. 10: 8).

Tyndale: This also we wisshe fore/ *even that ye were perfect*

Luther: und dasselb wunschen wir auch/ *nemlich/ ewre vollkommenheit*

Erasmus: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εὐχόμεθα, τὴν ὑμῶν κατάρτισιν

Hoc autem insuper optamus, vestram integritatem

Vulgate: Hoc et oramus vestram consummationem

Eph. 1: 7 (also Col. 1: 14).

Tyndale: by whom we have redempcion thorow his blud/
that is to saye the forgevenes off synnes

Luther: An wilchem wyr haben die erlosung durch seyn blut/ *nemlich/ die vergebung der sunde*

Erasmus: ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων

per quem habemus redemptionem per sanguinem ipsius, remissionem peccatorum

Vulgate: In quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum

Phil. 3: 9, 10 (also Eph. 1: 13).

Tyndale: the ffayth which is in Christ. I *mean* the rightewesnes which commeth of God

Luther: die durch den glawben Christ Kompt/ *nemlich/ die gerechtickeit/ die von Got Kompt*

Erasmus: τὴν διὰ πίστεως χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην

ea quae per fidem est Christi, quae est ex Deo iustitia

Vulgate: quae ex fide est Christi Jesu: quae ex Deo est iustitia

Col. 1: 18.

Tyndale: And he is the heed of the body/ *that is to wit of the congregacion*

Luther: Und er ist das hewbt des leybs/ *nemlich/ der gemeyne*

Erasmus: καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
& ipse est caput corporis ecclesiae

Vulgate: Et ipse est caput corporis Ecclesiae

Another frequent interpolation is some form of the verb *sagen* or *meynen* (to say, to mean). Among numerous examples may be cited:

Rom. 9: 30.

Tyndale: have overtaken rightewesnes I mane the rightewesnes which commeth of fayth

Luther: haben die gerechtickeyt erlanget. Ich sage aber von der gerechtickeyt/ die aus dem glawben Kompt

Erasmus: κατέλαβε δικαιοσύνην, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως
apprehenderunt iusticiam, iusticiam autem eam,
quae est ex fide

Vulgate: apprehenderunt iustitiam: iustitiam autem, quae ex fide est

1 Cor. 5: 10.

Tyndale: I meante nott atall of the fornicatours of this world

Luther: das meyn ich gar nicht von den bulern ynn diser welt

Erasmus: οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου
ac non omnino cum scortatoribus mundi huius

Vulgate: non utique fornicariis huius mundi

2 Cor. 10: 9.

Tyndale: This saye I lest I shulde seme as though I went a bout to make you a frayde with letters

Luther: Das sage ich/ das yhr nicht euch duncken lasset/ als hette ich wolt euch schrecken mitt brieffen

Erasmus: ἵνα μὴ δόξω ὡς ἂν ἐκφοβεῖν ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν
ne videar ceu perterrefacere vos per epistolas

Vulgate: Ut autem non existimer tamquam terrere vos per epistolas

These words as may be seen, are not found in the originals in Greek and Latin.

The following additions to the original text are interesting:

John 6: 1.

Tyndale: to a *cite* called Tiberias

Luther: an der stadt Tiberias

Erasmus: τῆς Τιβεριάδος
Tiberiadis

Vulgate: Tiberiadis

Rom. 7: 11.

Tyndale: by the silfe *commaundement*

Luther: durch dasselb *gepot*

Erasmus: δι' αὐτῆς
per illud

Vulgate: per illud

Rom. 8: 26.

Tyndale: but the sprete maketh intercession *mightely* for us

Luther: sondern der geyst vertrit uns selbs *mechtiglich*

Erasmus: ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
uerum ipse spiritus intercedit pro nobis

Vulgate: sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis

Rom. 9: 11.

Tyndale: by *grace* of the caller

Luther: aus *gnade* des beruffers

Erasmus: ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος
ex vocante

Vulgate: ex vocante

Rom. 14: 1.

Tyndale: nott in disputyng and troubylyng hys *conscience*

Luther: und verwirret die gewissen nicht

Erasmus: μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν
non ad diiudicationes disceptationum

Vulgate: non in disceptationibus cogitationum

Acts 1: 13.

Tyndale: James *sonne**

Luther: Jacobi son

Erasmus: Ἰακώβου
Jacobi frater

Vulgate: Jacobi

Acts 7: 60.

Tyndale: lorde impute not this synne unto them/ *For they
wote not what they do*

*The word to be supplied is *brother*, not son.

Luther: Herr rucke yhn dise sund nicht auff/ *denn sie wissen nicht was sie thun*

Erasmus: κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
Domine, ne statuas illis peccatum hoc

Vulgate: Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum

Acts 27: 43.

Tyndale: shulde cast them selves fyrst *into the see*

Luther: sich zu erst *ynn das meer* lassen

Erasmus: ἀπορρίψαντας πρώτους
abiicerent se primos

Vulgate: emittere se primos

Gal. 2: 9.

Tyndale: *and agreed with us* thatt we shulde preache
amonge the hethen

Luther: *und vereyneten sich mit uns/* das wyr unter die
heyden . . . predigten

Erasmus: ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη
ut nos in gentes

Vulgate: ut nos in Gentes

Phil. 2: 1.

Tyndale: *if there be amonge you* eny consolacion

Luther: *Ist nu unter euch* irgend eyen ermanung

Erasmus: Εἴ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν χριστῷ
si qua igitur consolatio

Vulgate: Si qua ergo consolatio

Rev. 2: 3.

Tyndale: and haste suffered/ and hast pacience; and for
my names sake hast labored

Luther: und hast teuffet/ und hast gedult/ und umb
meynes namens willen hastu geerbeytet

Erasmus: καὶ ἐβάπτισας καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου
κεκοπίακας

& baptizasti.* Et patientiam habes, & sustinuisti
propter nomen meum

* tulisti (1522).

Vulgate: et patientiam habes, et sustinuisti propter nomen meum

(f) *Chapter Beginnings and Endings*

In the following instances Tyndale accepts Luther's text arrangement instead of that found in Erasmus and the Vulgate.

1 Cor. X. Luther (followed by Tyndale) makes the first verse of Chapter XI the last verse of Chapter X.

2 Cor. I. Luther and Tyndale end Chapter I at verse 22; the other texts end the chapter at verse 24.

Col. III. Luther and Tyndale end this chapter with verse 1 of Chapter IV.

Heb. IV. Luther and Tyndale close this chapter with verse 13.

(g) *Learned and Unfamiliar Words*

This is a very interesting group. The following examples give an idea of Luther's and Tyndale's treatment of words strange to their respective languages:

<i>Vulgate and Erasmus (Latin)</i>	<i>Erasmus (Greek)</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Tyndale</i>
telonium	τελώνιον (Matt. 9: 9; Mark 2: 14; Luke 5: 27.)	tzoll	(receyte of) Custom
denarius	δηνάριον (Matt. 18: 28; Mark 6: 37; John 6: 7; Rev. 6: 6.)	pfennig	penny
sinclon	σινδών (Matt. 27: 59; Mark 14: 51; Luke 23: 53.)	linwad	linen cloth
tunica	χιτών (Matt. 5: 40; Acts 9: 39.)	rock	coote
stolae	στολαί (Mark 12: 38; Mark 16: 5; Luke 20: 46.)	langen kleyder	long clothes
minae	μναί (Luke 19: 13, and elsewhere in the same chapter.)	pfund	pounds
bysso	βύσσον	kostlichem lynwadt (Luke 16: 19.)	fine linen
expiravit	ἐξέπνευσεν (Mark 15: 37; Luke 23: 46.)	gab den geyst auff	gave up the ghost
discumbens	κατακείμενοι (Mark 2: 15; Luke 5: 29; 1 Cor. 8: 10.)	sassen (zutisch)	sat down (at meat)
mensa	τράπεζα (Luke 19: 23.)	banck	bank

<i>Vulgate and Erasmus (Latin)</i>	<i>Erasmus (Greek)</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Tyndale</i>
evangelizare	εὐαγγελιζομένου (Luke 20: 1; Acts 5: 42; 2 Cor. 10: 16.)	predigt das Evangelion	preache the gospel
adulter	μοιχαλῖς (Rom. 7: 3 bis; James 4: 4.)	ehebrecher	wedlocke-breaker
abyssum	ἄβυσσον (Luke 8: 31; Rom. 10: 7.)	tiefe	depe
tribunus	χιλίαρχος (John 18: 12; Acts 21: 31; Rev. 6: 15.)	ubirhauptmann	(hye) captayne
praetorium	πραιτώριον (John 18: 28 bis; Phil. 1: 13.)	richthaus	house of judgment
tribunal	βῆμα (Rom. 14: 10; Acts 25: 6; Rom. 14: 10.)	richt stuel	judgment seat
sacrilegos	ιεροσύλους (Acts 19: 37.)	kirchenrauber	robbers of churches
coma	κομᾶ (1 Cor. 11: 14; ib. 11: 15.)	langhar	long hair
aenigmate	αἰνίγματι (1 Cor. 13: 12.)	tunckeln wort	dark speakynge
sporta	σπυρίς; σαργάνη (Matt. 15: 37; Mark 8: 8; Acts 9: 25; 2 Cor. 11: 33.)	korb	basket
animus	ψυχή (Eph. 6: 6—the only instance in which ψυχή—soul—is rendered “heart.”)	hertzen	herte
presbyterii	πρεσβύτεροι (Luke 7: 3; 1 Tim. 4: 14; ib. 5: 17; 3 John, 1.)	elttisten	Seniour
lavacrum	λουτρόν (Eph. 5: 26; Tit. 3: 5.)	bad	fountayne
sabbatismus	σαββατισμός (Heb. 4: 9.)	ruhe	rest
tauri	ταῦροι (Matt. 22: 4; Acts 14: 13; Heb. 10: 4.)	ochsen	oxen
propitiatorium	ἱλαστήριον (Rom. 3: 25; Heb. 9: 5.)	gnadenstuel	mercy seat
podere	ποδήρη (Rev. 1: 13.)	leynen kytel	lynnen garment
collyrium	κολλύριον (Rev. 3: 18.)	augensalbe	eye salve
apex	κεράια (Matt. 5: 18; Luke 16: 17.)	tittel	tytle
caminum	κάμινον (Matt. 13: 42; Rev. 9: 2.)	feurofen	furnace of fire
sinapis	σινάπεως (Matt. 13: 31; Matt. 17: 20; Mark 4: 31; Luke 17: 6.)	senffkorn	musterd seed

<i>Vulgate and Erasmus (Latin)</i>	<i>Erasmus (Greek)</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Tyndale</i>
refectio	κατάλυμα (Mark 14: 14.)	gasthaus	geest chambre
drachmae	δραχμαί (Luke 15: 8-9.)	grosschen	grotes
architriclinus	ἀρχιτρικλίνω (John 2: 8-9.)	speysesmeyster	governour of the feast
probatia	προβατική (John 5: 2.)	schlachthaus	slaughter house
numen	θεῖον (Acts 17: 29.)	Gottheyt	godhead
Barbari	βάρβαροι (Rom. 1: 14.)	unkrieche*	no grekes
membranas	μεμβράνας (2 Tim. 4: 13.)	pergamen	partchmente

But Tyndale betrays his source more plainly when Luther renders an unusual word variously, as:

<i>Vulgate and Erasmus (Latin)</i>	<i>Erasmus (Greek)</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Tyndale</i>
utinam	ὅφελον (1 Cor. 4: 8; 2 Cor. 11: 1; Gal. 5: 12.)	wolt Got	Would God
utinam	ὅφελον (Rev. 3: 15.)	ach das	I wolde
quod superest; de cetero	λοιπόν (2 Cor. 13: 11; Eph. 6: 10.)	zuletzt	finally
Quod superest; de cetero	λοιπόν (Phil. 3: 1; ib. 4: 8; 1 Thess. 4: 1; 2 Thess. 3: 1.)	hynfurt; weytter;	moreover; further; furthermore
psallantes	ψάλλοντες (Eph. 5: 19.)	spielt	playinge
psallantes	ψαλλέτω (James 5: 13.)	singe psalmen	sing psalms
laudare	ὕμνῳ (Heb. 2: 12.)	lobsingen	(sing) prayse
laudare	ὕμνῳ (Acts 16: 25.)	lobten	lauded
virga	ῥάβδος (Heb. 11: 21; Heb. 1: 8.)	zepter	septer

*In one passage (1 Cor. 14: 11) Luther gives Holy Writ local color by rendering *barbaros* as *undeutsch*.

<i>Vulgate and Erasmus (Latin)</i>	<i>Erasmus (Greek)</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Tyndale</i>
virga	ῥάβδος (1 Cor. 4: 21; Heb. 9: 4; Rev. 2: 27.)	rute	rodde
thronus	θρόνος (Matt. 5: 34; Rev. 3: 21; ib. 4: 2 and throughout Rev.)	stuel	seate
thronus	θρόνος (Col. 1: 16.)	thron	maieste
atrium	αὐλή (Matt. 26: 69; Mark 14: 66; John 18: 15.)	pallatz	palice
atrium	αὐλή (Rev. 11: 2.)	chor	quyre
pascha	πάσχα (John 12: 1; John 13: 1; Acts 12: 4.)	Ostern	Ester
pascha	πάσχα (Mark 14: 12; Luke 22: 15; 1 Cor. 5: 7.)	Osterlamb	ester lambe
coccinam	κόκκινον (Rev. 17: 3; ib. 17: 4.)	rosynfarben	rose coloured
coccinam	κόκκινον (Rev. 18: 12; ib. 18: 16.)	scharlacken	scarlet
coccinam	κόκκινον (Matt. 27: 28; Heb. 9: 19.)	purpurn	purple

(h) *Clear Borrowings from the Text of Luther*

We come now to the most important category: the instances in which Tyndale is clearly dependent upon Luther for his rendition of the thought of the clause or sentence.

From over three hundred examples there is reproduced here a selection of those most deserving our attention.

Matt. 19: 5.

Tyndale: and they twane shalbe won flese

Luther: und werden die zwey eyn fleysch seyn

Erasmus: καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν
et erunt duo in carnem unam

Vulgate: et erunt duo in carne una

(A literal translation would be: "they shall be two in one flesh." This is a significant change, and it is highly unlikely that Tyndale made it independently of Luther.)

Mark 9: 6.

Tyndale: and he wist not what he sayde

Luther: denn er wuste nichte was er redet

Erasmus: οὐ γὰρ ἦδει τί λαλήσῃ
non enim novebat quid loqueretur

Vulgate: non enim sciebat quid diceret

(The verb in the dependent clause being subjunctive, Tyndale should have translated: "he wist not what to say.")

Mark 14: 56.

Tyndale: butt their witnes agreed not togedder

Luther: und yhre zeugnis stympft nicht uber eyen

Erasmus: καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴσαι ἦν αἱ μαρτυρίαι αὐτῶν
nec erant satis idonea testimonia

Vulgate: et convenientia testimonia non erant

(A verb substituted unnecessarily for an adjective construction.)

John 9: 23.

Tyndale: he ys olde ynough

Luther: Er ist selber allt gnug

Erasmus: ἡλικίαν ἔχει
aetatem habet

Vulgate: aetatem habet

(Literally: "he has his age," "he is of age.")

John 16: 2.

Tyndale: they shall excommunicat you

Luther: sie werdden euch ynn den ban thun

Erasmus: ἀποσυναγώγους ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς
alienos a synagogis facient vos

Vulgate: absque synagogis facient vos

(Tyndale's bitterness against the Pope and Romanism caused him to echo Luther with enthusiasm, instead of saying: "they shall make you aliens from the synagogues.")

Acts 7: 20.

Tyndale: a propper child in the sight of God

Luther: eyn feyn kind fur Gott

Erasmus: ἀστέϊος τῷ θεῷ
gratus Deo

Vulgate: gratus deo

Acts 27: 14.

Tyndale: Butt anon after there arose (agaynst theyr purpose) a flawe of wynde out of the northe

Luther: Nicht lang aber darnach erhüb sich widder yhr furnemen eyn windsbrautt die man nennet Ostnord

Erasmus: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔβρισε κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικὸς ὁ καλούμενος εὐροκλύδων

Verum haud multo post coortus est contra ipsam ventus Typhonicus qui vocatur Euroaquilo

Vulgate: Non post multum autem misit se contra ipsum ventus Typhonicus, qui vocatur Euroaquilo

Rom. 1: 26.

Tyndale: unnaturell

Luther: unnaturlichen

Erasmus: παρὰ φύσιν
praeter naturam

Vulgate: contra naturam

Rom. 3: 25.

Tyndale: to shewe the rightewesnes which before hym is of valoure/ in that he forgeveth the synnes thatt are passhed

Luther: damit er die gerechtichkeyt die fur yhm gilt beweyse yn dem das er vergibt die sund die zuvor sind geschehen

Erasmus: εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων

ad ostensionem iustitiae suae propter remissionem praecedentium peccatorum

Vulgate: ad ostensionem iustitiae suae propter remissionem praecedentium delictorum

Rom. 9: 16.

Tyndale: so lieth it not then in a man's wille or runnynge, but in the mercy of God

Luther: So liegt es nu nicht an yemants wollen odder lauffen sondern an gottis erbarmen

Erasmus: ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεῶντος θεοῦ

Itaque non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei

Vulgate: Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei

(A remarkable substitution of abstract nouns for present participles.)

Rom. 10: 6.

Tyndale: That is nothyng else then to fetch Christ doune

Luther: das ist nicht anders denn Christum erab holen

Erasmus: τοῦτ' ἔστι χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν

Hoc est, Christum ex alto deducere

Vulgate: id est, Christum deducere

(Here Luther is painstakingly copied by Tyndale.)

Rom. 14: 20.

Tyndale: with hurte off his conscience

Luther: mit eynem anstoss seynes gewissens

Erasmus: διὰ προσκόμματος
per offendiculum

Vulgate: per offendiculum

Rom. 15: 16.

Tyndale: that the gentyls might be an acceptable offering

Luther: auff das die heyden eyn opffer werden Got an-
genehm

Erasmus: ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος
ut fiat oblatio Gentium acceptabilis

Vulgate: ut fiat oblatio Gentium accepta

(The literal rendering should be: "that the sacrifice of the Gentiles might be acceptable.")

1 Cor. 5: 8.

Tyndale: but with the swete breed of purenes and trueth

Luther: ynn dem sussteyg der lautterkeyt und der war-
heyt

Erasmus: ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας
in panibus fermento carentibus, hoc est, syn-
ceritate et veritate

Vulgate: in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis

2 Cor. 5: 11.

Tyndale: Seynge then that we knowe howe the lorde is to
be feared/ we fare fayre with men

Luther: Die weyl wyr denn wissen das der herr zu furch-
ten ist/ faren wyr schon mit den leuten

Erasmus: Εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου ἀνθρώπους πείθομεν
Scientes igitur terrorem Domini suademus hom-
inibus

Vulgate: Scientes enim timorem Domini hominibus suade-
mus

(Both clauses clearly betray the dependence on Luther.)

2 Cor. 5: 18.

Tyndale: and hath geven unto us the office to preache the
atonement

Luther: und uns geben das ampt das die versunung pre-
diget

Erasmus: δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς
deditque nobis ministerium reconciliationis

Vulgate: et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis

2 Cor. 8: 2.

Tyndale: howe thatt the aboundance off their rejoysinge
is/ that they are tried with moche tribulacion
And howe that their povertie/ though it be
depe/ yet hath folowed over/ and is become unto
them ryches in syngelnes

Luther: Denn yhre freude war da am uberschwenglich-
sten/ da sie durch viel trubsal bewerd wurden/
unnd yhr armut obs wol tieff ist/ hat sichs doch
uberschenckt als eyn reychtum ynn aller
eynfeltichkeyt

Erasmus: ὅτι ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλίψεως ἡ περισσεία τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεία αὐτῶν ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὸν
πλοῦτον τῆς ἀπλότητος αὐτῶν

quoniam per multam probationem afflictionis exuberavit gaudium illorum, et profunda paupertas illorum exundavit in divitias simplicitatis ipsorum

Vulgate: quod in multo experimento tribulationis abundantia gaudii ipsorum fuit, et altissima paupertas eorum abundavit in divitias simplicitatis eorum

Gal. 4: 15.

Tyndale: how happy were ye then!

Luther: wie ward yhr datzumal so selig!

Erasmus: τίς οὖν ἦν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν
quae est igitur beatitudo vestra?

Vulgate: ubi est ergo beatitudo vestra?

(This is a considerable departure from: "Where is then your happiness?")

Eph. 3: 15.

Tyndale: which is father over all that is called father In
heven and erth

Luther: der der recht vatter ist uber alles was vatter
heysst ynn hymel und erden

Erasmus: ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται
ex quo omnis a communi patre cognatio in caelis
et in terra nominatur

Vulgate: ex quo omnis paternitas in caelis et in terra nominatur

(Luther's rather unjustifiable translation of *pateritas* is slavishly copied by Tyndale.)

Phil. 3: 8.

Tyndale: I have counted all thynges losse

Luther: ich alles hab fur schaden gerechnet

Erasmus: τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην
omnia pro damnis duxi

Vulgate: omnia detrimentum feci

Col. 2: 23.

Tyndale: chosen holynes

Luther: selb erwelte geystlichkeyt

Erasmus: ἐθελοθησκεῖα
superstitionem

Vulgate: superstitione

(Westcott, though he denied the influence of Luther, says of this passage: "this verse offers one of the most remarkable coincidences between Luther and Tyndale which I have noted.")

I Thess. I: 4.

Tyndale: because we knowe brethren beloved of God/ howe
that ye are electe

Luther: denn lieben Bruder von Got geliebt/ wyr wissen/
wie yhr ausserwelet seyd

Erasmus: εἰδότες ἀδελφοὶ ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν
scientes fratres dilecti a Deo electionem vestram

Vulgate: scientes fratres dilecti a Deo electionem vestram

I Tim. 6: 5.

Tyndale: superfluous disputynges in scolus of men with
corrupte myndes

Luther: schul getzencke/ solcher menschen/ die zurutten
synn haben

Erasmus: παραδιατριβαὶ διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν
supervacaneae conflictationes hominum corrup-
torum

Vulgate: conflictationes hominum mente corruptorum

Titus I: I.

Tyndale: to preache the faythe of *goddis* electe

Luther: zu predigen den glawben der ausserwelten

Erasmus: κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ
iuxta fidem electorum Dei

Vulgate: secundum fidem electorum Dei

Heb. 4: 5.

Tyndale: And in this playce agayne/ They shall not come
into my rest

Luther: und hie an diesem ort aber mal/ si sollen nicht
kommen zu meyner ruge

Erasmus: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν, εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατὰ παυσίν
μου

in hoc rursum Si introibunt in requiem meam

Vulgate: in isto rursum Si introibunt in requiem meam

James 1: 23.

Tyndale: boddyly face

Luther: leylich angesicht

Erasmus: τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως
faciem nativitatis suae

Vulgate: vultum nativitatis suae

2 Peter 1: 17.

Tyndale: in whome I have delite

Luther: ynn dem ich eyn wolgefallen habe

Erasmus: εἰς ὃν ἐγὼ εὐδόκησα
in quo mihi complacitum est

Vulgate: in quo mihi complacui

1 John 2: 16.

Tyndale: pryde off goodess

Luther: hochmut der guter

Erasmus: ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου
fastus vitae

Vulgate: superbia vitae

Jude 4.

Tyndale: of which it was written afore tyme unto soche
iudgement

Luther: von denen vor zeyten geschrieben ist/ zu solchem
urteyl

Erasmus: οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα
qui prius descripti fuerant in hoc iudicium

Vulgate: qui olim praescripti sunt in hoc iudicium

Rev. 1: 10.

Tyndale: on a sondaye

Luther: an suntage

Erasmus: ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ
in dominico die

Vulgate: in Dominica die

(A modernization of "on the Lord's day.")

Rev. 22: 3.

Tyndale: and the leves off the wood served to heale the
people withal

Luther: und die bletter des holtz dienen zu der gesund-
heyt der heyden

Erasmus: καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν
et folia ligni ad sanitatem Gentium

Vulgate: et folia ligni ad sanitatem Gentium

It has never been claimed that Luther's turn of phrase became firmly fixed in the English translation and passed over unchanged or nearly so into our universally accepted version of today, that of King James. Yet in the assembling of results in this research it became plainly evident that Luther's thought lives on unimpaired in the King James Bible in a surprising number of instances. A goodly percentage of the examples already given in the various categories have come on down to us all the way from Luther's Bible. But in addition to these there are upwards of 120 clear instances in which Luther's paraphrasing or free translation of the Greek or Latin has been accepted by Tyndale and has been preserved to us, having been taken over from Tyndale by the scholars who made our present version.

There follow thirty examples of readings offering a demonstration of this:

Matt. 8: 29.

Vulgate: Quid nobis, et tibi

Erasmus: Quid rei nobis tecum est
τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί

Luther: was haben wir mitt dyr tzu thun

Tyndale: what have we to do with the?

King James: what have we to do with thee?

Matt. 11: 5.

Vulgate: pauperes evangelizantur

Erasmus: pauperes laetum accipiunt evangelii nuncium

πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται

Luther: den armen wirtt das Euangelium predigt

Tyndale: the gospell is preached to the poure

King James: the poor have the gospel preached to them

Matt. 25: 19.

Vulgate: et posuit rationem cum eis

Erasmus: et ponit rationem cum eis

καὶ συναίρει μετ' αὐτῶν λόγον

Luther: und hielt rechenschafft mit yhn

Tyndale: and reckened with them

King James: and reckoneth with them

Matt. 25: 24.

Vulgate: sparsisti

Erasmus: sparsisti

δισεκόρησας

Luther: gestrawet hast

Tyndale: strawed

King James: strawed

Luke 2: 9.

Vulgate: timuerunt timore magno

Erasmus: timuerunt timore magno

ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν

Luther: sie furchten sich seer

Tyndale: they were soore afrayed

King James: they were sore afraid

Luke 5: 4.

Vulgate: laxate retia vestra in capturam

Erasmus: laxate retia vestra in capturam

χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα ὑμῶν εἰς ἄγρην

Luther: werfft ewre netze aus das yhr eyn zug thut

Tyndale: lett slippe thy nett to make a draught

King James: let down your nets for a draught

Luke 7: 40.

Vulgate: magister, dic

Erasmus: magister, dic
 διδάσκαλε, εἰπέ

Luther: meyster, sage an

Tyndale: Master, say on

King James: Master, say on

John 12: 24.

Vulgate: granum frumenti

Erasmus: granum frumenti
 ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου

Luther: das weytzen korn

Tyndale: the wheate corne

King James: a corn of wheat

John 18: 18.

Vulgate: ad prunas

Erasmus: qui prunas congesserant
 ἀνθρακιὰν πεποιηκότες

Luther: und hatten eyn kolfewr gemacht

Tyndale: and had made a fyre off coles

King James: who had made a fire of coals

Acts 10: 22.

Vulgate: testimonium habens

Erasmus: testimonium habens
 μαρτυρούμενός

Luther: guttis geruchts

Tyndale: of good report

King James: of good report

Acts 16: 24.

Vulgate: et pedes eorum strinxit ligno

Erasmus: et pedes eorum strinxit ligno
 καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἥσφαλίσατο εἰς τὸ ξύλον

Luther: und legt yhre fusz ynn den stock

Tyndale: and made their feet fast in the stocks

King James: and made their feet fast in the stocks

Acts 21: 36.

Vulgate: tolle eum

Erasmus: tolle eum

αἶρε αὐτόν

Luther: hynweg mit ym

Tyndale: a waye with hym

King James: away with him

Acts 27: 12.

Vulgate: respicientem ad Africum et ad Corum

Erasmus: spectans ad Africum et ad Chorum

βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον

Luther: gegen dem wind Westsud unnd Nordwest

Tyndale: and servith toward the soughtwest and north-west wynde

King James: and lyeth toward the south west and north west

Acts 27: 40.

Vulgate: laxantes iuncturas gubernaculorum

Erasmus: laxatis iuncturis gubernaculorum

ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων

Luther: loseten die ruder bandt auff

Tyndale: lowsed the rudder bondes

King James: loosed the rudder bands

Acts 27: 41.

Vulgate: puppis vero solvebatur a vi maris

Erasmus: puppis vero solvebatur a vi undarum

ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τῶν κυμάτων

Luther: aber das hynder teyl zu brach von der gewallt der wellen

Tyndale: and the hynder parte brake with the violence of the waves

King James: but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves

Rom. 10: 1.

Vulgate: Fratres, voluntas quidem cordis mei, et obsecratio ad deum, fit pro illis in salutem

Erasmus: Fratres, propensa quidem voluntas cordis mei,
et deprecatio quae sit ad deum, pro Israel est
ad salutem

Ἀδελφοί, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας καὶ ἡ δέησις
ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν

Luther: Lieben bruder mein hertzen wunsch ist und
flehe auch Gotte fur Israel das sie selig werden

Tyndale: Brethren my hertis desyre/ and prayer to god
for Israel is that they myght be saved

King James: Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God
for Israel is, that they might be saved

1 Cor. 14: 10.

Vulgate: Tam multa, utputa genera linguarum sunt in
hoc mundo, et nihil sine voce est

Erasmus: Tam multa, verbi gratia, genera vocum sunt in
mundo, et nihil horum mutum

τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ οὐδὲν
ἀσφῶνον

Luther: Also mancherley art der stymmen ist ynn der
welt/ und derselben ist keyne undeutlich

Tyndale: Many kyndes off voyces are in the worlde/
and none off them ar with out significacion

King James: There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices
in the world, and none of them is without
signification

2 Cor. 5: 20.

Vulgate: Pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur

Erasmus: Itaque nomine Christi legatione fungimur

Ὑπὲρ χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν

Luther: so sind wyr nu botschaffter an Christus stat

Tyndale: Now then are we messengers in the roume of
Christ

King James: Now then are we ambassadors for Christ

Gal. 5: 10.

Vulgate: quod nihil aliud sapietis

Erasmus: quod nihil aliud sensuri sitis

ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε

Luther: yhr werdet nichts anders gesynnet seyn
 Tyndale: that ye will be none otherwise minded
 King James: that ye will be none otherwise minded

Eph. 2: 2.

Vulgate: secundum saeculum
 Erasmus: iuxta saeculum
 κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα
 Luther: nach dem laufft
 Tyndale: accordynge to the course
 King James: accordynge to the course

Phil. 1: 12.

Vulgate: profectum
 Erasmus: profectum
 προκοπήν
 Luther: fodderung
 Tyndale: furtherynge
 King James: furtherance

2 Thess. 1: 8.

Vulgate: in flamma ignis
 Erasmus: cum incendio flammae
 ἐν πυρὶ φλογός
 Luther: mit flammendem fewr
 Tyndale: in flammynge fyre
 King James: in flaming fire

2 Thess. 2: 12.

Vulgate: consenserunt
 Erasmus: approbaverunt
 εὐδοκήσαντες
 Luther: haben lust gehabt
 Tyndale: had pleasure in
 King James: had pleasure in

1 Tim. 5: 22.

Vulgate: neque communicaveris peccatis alienis
 Erasmus: neque communices peccatis alienis
 μηδὲ κοινώνει ἀμαρτίαις ἄλλοις

Luther: mach dich auch nicht *teylhaftig* frembder sunden

Tyndale: nether be *part taker* of wother menes synnes

King James: neither be *partaker* of other men's sins

2 Tim. 2: 17.

Vulgate: et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit

Erasmus: et sermo illorum, ut cancer morbus, pastionem
habebit

καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν ὡς γάγγραινα νομὴν ἔξει

Luther: unnd yhr wort das *frisset umb sich* wie der
Krebs

Tyndale: and their wordes *shall fret* even as doeth a
cancre

King James: and their word will eat as doth a canker

Titus 1: 11.

Vulgate: quos oportet redargui

Erasmus: quibus oportet obturare os

οὓς δεῖ ἐπιστομίζειν

Luther: wilchen man musz das maul *stopffen*

Tyndale: whose mouths must be *stopped*

King James: whose mouths must be *stopped*

Heb. 5: 12.

Vulgate: solido cibo

Erasmus: solido cibo

στερεᾶς τροφῆς

Luther: der *starcken* speyse

Tyndale: *stronge* meate

King James: *strong* meat

Heb. 9: 3.

Vulgate: sancta sanctorum

Erasmus: sanctum sanctorum

Ἁγία Ἀγίων

Luther: die aller Heyligste

Tyndale: holiest off all

King James: the Holiest of all

Heb. 10: 38.

Vulgate: non placebit animae meae

Erasmus:	non probabit animo meo οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ
Luther:	szo wirtt meyne seele keyne gefallen an yhm haben
Tyndale:	my soule shall have no pleasure in hym
King James:	my soule shall have no pleasure in hym

I John 3: 17.

Vulgate:	substantiam huius mundi
Erasmus:	substantiam mundi τὸν βίον τοῦ κόσμου
Luther:	diser welt guter
Tyndale:	this worldes goode
King James:	this world's good

In addition to these there have been noted some thirty instances which give ground for suspicion that Luther's version may have been consulted directly (or through some source other than Tyndale) by the scholars who made the King James version. Eight of the most striking examples are submitted herewith:

John 4: 35.

Vulgate:	regiones
Erasmus:	regiones τὰς χώρας
Luther:	feld
King James:	fields
Tyndale:	regions

Acts 8: 9.

Vulgate:	dicens
Erasmus:	dicens λέγων
Luther:	gab fur
King James:	giving out
Tyndale:	sayinge

Acts 24: 16.

Vulgate:	studeo
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Erasmus: studeo

ἀστέω

Luther: ube

King James: exercise

Tyndale: study

Acts 27: 12.

Vulgate: plurimi

Erasmus: complures

οἱ πλείους

Luther: das mehrer teyl

King James: the more part

Tyndale: many

2 Cor. 2: 12.

Luther: zu predigen

King James: to preach (in italics)

(Not found in other versions)

Heb. 4: 2.

Vulgate: sermo auditus

Erasmus: audisse sermonem

ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς

Luther: das wort der predigt

King James: the word preached

Tyndale: that they herde the worde

Heb. 8: 1.

Vulgate: capitulum

Erasmus: caput

κεφάλαιον

Luther: summa

King James: sum

Tyndale: pyth

James 3: 4.

Vulgate: ubi impetus dirigentis voluerit

Erasmus: quocumque impetus dirigentis voluerit

ὅπου ἂν ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐκδόντος βούληται

Luther: wo der hyn will/ der es regirt

King James: whithersoever the governor listeth

Tyndale: whither soever the violence of the governes woll

1 Peter 5: 3.

Vulgate: ut dominantes in cleris

Erasmus: ceu dominium exercentes adversos cleros

ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων

Luther: als die hirschet uber das Erbe

King James: as being lords over God's (ital.) heritage

Tyndale: as though ye were lordes over the parishes

To sum up the findings in comparing the texts of Tyndale's and Luther's versions of the New Testament:

1. Tyndale shows continuous dependence on Luther's work, from Matthew to Revelation.
2. A considerable number of textual renderings peculiar to Luther have become our inheritance in the King James version.
3. There are grounds for suspicion that the compilers of the King James version may have occasionally made independent use of Luther's Bible.

With this we rest the case for the affirmative. That Tyndale was thoroughly familiar with German and made free use of Luther's writings in that language must be accepted as an established fact.

Whether any absolute proof of his association with Luther and Wittenberg will ever be forthcoming is doubtful. That all the evidence points to such an association is apparent. It may be that the final solution of the "Hans Luft" mystery will unravel the larger problem. There is always the possibility that some evidence may turn up from books or correspondence of the sixteenth century to settle the matter once and for all. Yet however that may be, the English speaking world, in addition to its great debt to the courageous German reformer who first cast off the shackles of mental slavery, is beholden to him for another, and not a negligible legacy—for the thoughts of that mighty brain inspired to a remarkable extent the lines which we read in that Book which will be always cherished above all others.

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VITA

I was born in Williamstown, Dauphin County, Pa., February 23, 1898; graduated from the high school at Parkesburg, Pa. (1914), and from Dickinson College (1918) with the degree of A.B. During the World War I served as radio electrician in the United States Navy. In 1919 I was appointed, after examination, Vice Consul de Carrière of the United States of America, serving as Vice Consul in charge of the Consulate at Puerto Cortes, Honduras (1919-1922), Consul at Bremerhaven, Germany (1922-1924), and Consul at Maracaibo, Venezuela (1924-1925). In 1925-1926 I studied at the University of Pennsylvania under Professors Campion, Shumway, Uppvall, Crawford, Williams, Jack and Rubio, and received the M.A. degree in Romanics in 1926. I was head of the Latin Department of the Coatesville (Pa.) High School, 1926-1928, and in the latter year became instructor in modern languages at Dickinson College. For the last two years I have been a student in the German Department of the Johns Hopkins University. In the summer of 1930 I attended the German School at Western Reserve University under Professor Ernst Feise, and in the summer of 1931 I studied at the Linguistic Institute of America in New York under Professor Collitz, Prokosch, Sehrt and Orbeck.

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